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the progressive increase in skill in the rearing of tuskers (another feature to be discussed later), these have on the whole improved in quality during each successive generation, and the memory of these improvements, resulting in ever greater curvature of the tusks, adds to the prestige of those who sacrificed them and also to that of their descendants. These facts, handed down from father to son, together with the ancestral stone monuments standing in every village dancing-ground, form a historical framework by the aid of which the natives of the Small Islands preserve a mass of information regarding their past history, and of the personalities and exploits of their ancestors. Since most of the facts so preserved are centred round the successive performances of the Maki, there can be no doubt at all that this historical sense is part and parcel of the megalithic culture it represents. There is also very little doubt that it is closely connected with patrilineal descent, for in Vao, where patrilineal descent has been comparatively recently introduced and the dolmen representing the female principle is still the chief monument erected, the genealogies do not go back more than nine generations. In Atchin, on the contrary, where patrilineal influence is stronger and monoliths representing the male principle have largely supplanted the former use of the dolmen as the chief sacrificial monument, they go back nineteen generations to the slaying by two brothers of an aboriginal man-eating ogre named Ias associated with an older layer of culture, memories of which still survive in South Raga, where legends are told of mythical baby-snatchers called *ias*, and the same word is used also as an honourable title for successful killers of men.[1] The two Atchin brothers said to have killed Ias nineteen generations ago were clearly the last representatives on this Island of the former system of overt matrilineal descent, since their successor Iwas was their sister's son, and it was this man Iwas who introduced the existing system of overt patrilineal descent through which the inhabitants of the chief village on this now patrilocal island trace kinship with him, the youngest boy at the time of my visit belonging to the seventeenth generation of his descendants in the direct male line.

"STONE MEN"

The importance of monoliths in tracing descent is due almost certainly to the fact discussed on p. 699, that these monuments, now consisting of plain coral blocks, for the most part undressed, represent what at one time in the history of this culture were stone statues carved to represent the dead. Thus some of the monoliths erected for the higher ranks in the district of Seniang in South-West Bay (which in turn were derived,

[1] Fattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 409, 410; also 2, 1931, Tales XXIX, p. 879 and XXX, pp. 880-1. The same personage figures in the mythology of Oba as the man-eating ogre Taso (Codrington, 3, pp. 398-402).

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361 Of these three, the latest to have been erected is still surmounted by the
778 rotting remnants of the shrine with which all monuments are covered
when in use, and faced with the ancestor-image which forms the fore-
782 post of the shrine. Beyond these is another rack displaying the jaws of sacrificed tuskers, behind which is yet another disused dolmen, and finally, a monolith erected during the course of the rites at which high-grade tusked boars have been sacrificed and which is now both the memorial and dwelling-place of ancestral ghosts.

The ghamal.

344 Dominating the whole scene, behind the stone-platforms and partly hidden by trees, is a long thatched wooden building, nearly 100 feet in length, open at each end, and with its ridge-poles decorated at either end with a gigantic image of a hawk with spread wings cut from the buttress roots of a forest tree. This is the central village lodge, or *ghamal*, the roofed counterpart of the dancing-ground, where the old men congregate in bad weather for debates, and where all business connected with the Maki is conducted. This building, too tall to be included in the panorama, can be studied in Plate VII and Fig. 53. Part of the bamboo fence surrounding it is to be seen, however, on the panorama towards the right-hand side above the stone-platform. This *ghamal* had been erected only a short time before my arrival. As with the gongs and other sacred objects, no *ghamal*, even when past use, is ever pulled down, as may be seen by the rotting roof of the previous, now deserted, building seen at the extreme right hand of the picture.

Story of origin.

773 The spot we now stand on is that on which, according to legend, the creator-deity Ta-ghar founded the village of Pete-hul, by causing a certain fruit to fall which, splitting on the buttress root of a tree, gave rise to the first man and woman, and here their first son cleared away the bush to make his dancing-ground.[1] Behind, in the cliff flanking the north-western coast, is a series of caves called *mbarang*, the largest of which is behind the Upper Side of the dancing-ground where the creation took place, and it is for this reason that this quarter of the village is called *La-mbarang*, meaning "At the Cave." [2]

Togh-vans and Tolamp.

361 Leaving this sacred place now by its northern end, we find ourselves surrounded on all sides by houses. This is one of the centres of the village,

[1] See pp. 82, 89.

[2] The sides of the ravine leading to the cave are planted with coconut trees stretching right up to the great banyan tree already seen. Speiser (3, p. 92) refers to huts built partly under the rocks, and says that the natives sometimes make fires and cook there.

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takes us back, on the same reckoning, to the year 1390 as the date of Iwas's birth, and 1440 of his ripe manhood. Iwas was not only the founder of the village but also the introducer of patrilineal descent, there being no record of his father, but only of his two maternal uncles, Mal-mal-mari and Mal-mal-oba, who are the earliest figures in the oral accounts dealing with the history of Atchin. It was these two who, prompted by their mother, slew the aboriginal cannibal ogre Ias whose name is philologically equivalent to Ghiagh, that of the male partner in the Vao creation myth, and to the South Raga *ias* already mentioned.[1]

It was not till five generations after Iwas, that is to say (taking the dates of their birth) in about 1540, that four brothers appear in the genealogies of Atchin, corresponding with the four brothers in the creation story on Vao, and so antedating these by about 90 years according to my reckoning or 30 by Godefroy's calculations.

Thus, taking into account the slow northward movement of culture in the Small Islands, the genealogical records of Vao and Atchin tally, with the exception that on Atchin they go yet further back to some yet earlier social revolution regarding which the Vao records are silent.

MYTHOLOGICAL EPITAPH ON THE DECAY OF MATRILINEAL DESCENT

No better way could be found of summing up the encroaching patrilineal influence and its adverse effect on the status of women than to quote the following tale told of a Togh-vanu woman, clearly a variant of the Pete-hul creation myth.

It will be remembered that in the creation myth the *memel* fruit fell on to the buttress-root of a *gha-tambol* tree, splitting in half. The two halves became a man and woman who at first slept, unknown to one another, in adjacent compartments formed by the tree's roots, but subsequently married and produced four sons, the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

According to this variant, there was a Togh-vanu woman who was so covered with sores that no one could bear to look at her. So they decided to throw her away. They bound her with coils of the *memel* creeper to a banana stalk to act as a float, and threw her into the sea. The wind blew her northwards towards Santo, till at last she came ashore on an island called Aes, which lies off the Santo coast. As she had no house, she lived in one of the compartments made by two buttress-roots of a *gha-tambol* tree. The *memel* creeper with which she had been bound "grew up" and entered her womb, so that when she tried to take it out, she bled. After a time she conceived, and bore a girl. This girl bore a son, who became the ancestor of all the people of Aes.

In this tale we no longer hear of the *memel* fruit splitting into two,

[1] See p. 17.

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174 173 forming both man and woman, but of the creeper only, which is exclusively male, and itself ruptures the woman's hymen. Nothing could describe better the inroads made on the old matrilineal system by the encroaching patrilineal influence, though there is still a strong reminiscence of matrilineal descent shown by the fact that the offspring of the union is a girl. However, the patrilineal influence prevails in that it is her son who is the ancestor of all the people of Aes.[1] The creeper is also used to bind the woman, clearly a metaphorical allusion to the inferior status of women in the overtly patrilineal communities of Malekula when compared with their position of far greater equality in the matrilineal communities further north. Sores are a punishment for incest. The whole story plainly refers to the conflict of kinship systems, and is a fitting epitaph on the progressive decay of the principle of matrilineal descent.[2]

[1] It would be interesting to know what type of organisation exists on Aes. The island referred to is probably Aise, another name for the island of Aore, which lies between Malo and Santo.

[2] Other versions of the same myth have been recorded from various places. One of these from South Raga has already been mentioned on p. 140.

Godefroy (1, 1933, pp. 45-8) mentions another non-Malekulan version according to which the *memel* fruit brought new life to an old grandmother.

Suas (1911, p. 907) records yet another version from Olal in North Ambrim, according to which Bugliam, the god of darkness, persuades the woman to eat the fruit.

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Account of how two Atchin women followed the ghost of a Vao man to Ambrim.

There is a tale told on Wala explaining how it is that the facts concerning the journey of the dead and the life of ghosts are known. This tale concerns a ghost from Vao, but the details belong to the Wala version of the story, and it is told chiefly with a view to pointing out the dire effects that occur from not quickly enough placating a ghost (*te-mets* in the Wala language) called *ni-wet or gnush*, "Nose-devouring Stone," which, in the form of a solitary rock,[1] stands alone in the sea at a place called Wetu, also meaning "Stone," at the southern end of the black-sand beach of Orap. If not duly placated with the gift of a fowl, this Stone rises up and hits the nose of the dead man with its finger, not in order to break it, but to make it flat.[2]

The story states that an old man of Vao died, was adorned as usual for burial with his arm badges, fowls' feathers and other insignia, and set out on his journey to Ambrim.

When he came to a place called Woremet, on the coast opposite Atchin, he was seen by two Atchin women, who were so taken by his finery that they wished to marry him. So they followed him to the "Cave of the Dead," where they saw him gnawing the trunk of a magic tree with red fruit which is a feature in the Wala version of the story. Then they followed him through the cave, and on to where he struck the waters of the river with his wand,[3] and passed through. But when they came to Wetu, the dead man delayed in presenting his fowl, so that the Stone rose up and with its finger struck the dead man's nose so as to make it flat. Then one of the women said to the other, "Now we see that this man is no good. He is no man, but a ghost." But they followed him to Pinalum, where the dead man took off the mats in which he was wrapped. Then they came to the place called Gunsin Te-mets,[4] and all three lit fires on the reef. Shules,[5] the ferryman, saw the fires and paddled

[1] In the Wala version, all ghosts met with, including the Guardian Ghost Le-saw-saw, are said to be petromorphic, and to be represented by natural upright coral blocks.

[2] The undesirability of the nose being flattened would appear to indicate the fact that prominent noses were characteristic of those responsible for the introduction of the myth. Compare the artificial elongation of the nose in Seniang (Layard, 2, pp. 218, 219); also the admiration expressed for the writer's prominent nose recorded on p. 744 of this volume.

[3] In the Wala version of the story, a cane, cut to the exact length of the dead man's body, is buried with him in the grave. This cane, clearly the dead man's "double," becomes a magic wand which the dead man takes with him and with which he parts the waters of rivers encountered on his way. The river here mentioned is the stream which crosses the black-sand beach. At burial a fowl is also killed, for payment to the "Nose-devouring Stone." When the dead man sets out on his journey he slings the wand over his shoulder with the ghost-fowl hanging from the hinder end. (For discussion of this and other features of the Wala and Atchin version see Layard, 4.)

[4] The name of a promontory, meaning "Nose (as promontory, cf. English 'ness') of the Ghosts."

[5] This is the name given to the ferryman on Wala.

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over. And when he saw that it was a Vao man, he paddled back to Ambrim and told all the dead from Vao to come over and fetch the newcomer. This they did, and the two Atchin women went with him to Ambrim. When they arrived there, one of the women was frightened, and said to the other, "I've begged you all the time to go back but you would not, and now you really see that this is not a man, but a ghost; and here we are among nothing but the dead."

And they stayed there seven nights. And every evening, when the crickets [1] began to sing, they saw the bones of the dead join together and become alive, and they watched them dance till their heads fell off at the rising of the morning star. And at dawn after the seventh night the head of the man they had accompanied fell off also.[2]

But now the unusual happened. For the Atchin women must return home, but could not find their way alone. So this man became alive, and said, "I will take you back to Atchin." And he still had his wand. So, having ferried them over to Gunsin Te-mets, he walked northward with them along the coast, and whenever they came to a river he struck the waters with his wand, so that they parted and the three walked through on dry ground. And he went with them till they came to the "Cave of the Dead," where he left them, saying "*Ko reldrel e matur, ko reldrel e mairi*," [3] and himself returned to Ambrim.

The two women returned alone to Atchin, but straightway died. But the Atchin people brought them back to life by kneeling on their chests and suddenly releasing the pressure, so that the breath came back into their bodies.[4]

When they came back to life they related all that they had seen. And that is how it is known that the dead go to Ambrim and that after seven days their heads fall off, and why care is taken to kill a fowl at death and to place a wand with the body in the grave.

Brief analysis of the Vao version of the story into two layers in the earlier of which the dead have their home in the cave.

As I have shown, the Vao version of the story of the dead man's journey to the volcano on Ambrim is much shorter than those told on Atchin and on Wala, and differs from them in several material respects. In the article mentioned above [5] all three versions are told and the various

[1] Called in Wala *bong le muisi*.

[2] This refers to the Wala version mentioned above. The newly arrived ghost's bones do not fall asunder till the seventh night. Seven days represents the probationary period in the newer form of culture existing on Wala, as opposed to the five-day period belonging to the older culture represented on Vao.

[3] The translation of this is doubtful. The dialect is that of Wala. It probably means "he dances from the time of lying down to sleep to the time of rising."

[4] This method of artificial respiration is called, in the language of Wala, *nu wuthi luha ni*, "he brings it back."

[5] Layard, 4.

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Church through the doctrine of apostolic succession and the laying on of hands, with the slight difference that the hands are not directly laid on but that the essential element of touch is achieved through the medium of the kava root, universally recognised in the Pacific as a channel for divine (ancestral) inspiration.

Tolamp Maki about to be revived.

The position of Tolamp also affords evidence of the importance of the whole Maki rite as a promoter of well-being and social prestige. It so happened that my chief informant on Vao was a Tolamp man who had at one time, when on another island, become nominally a Christian, and had at the same time amassed a certain amount of wealth in pigs. He had, however, renounced the first without renouncing the second, and had returned home to rehabilitate the fortunes of his clan, and his method of setting about this was, with immense energy, to clear a space for a new dancing-ground for the performance, for the first time on Vao, of a Maki in which the participants should be exclusively Tolamp men.[1]

MAKI INTRODUCED FROM MAINLAND VILLAGE OF N'AV-AV

The Story of To-wewe

The following story, told of the origin of the Maki on Vao,[2] makes no mention of a dolmen, but only of a stone-platform. This may be due either to a mistake on the part of my informant, or to the fact that he, a Tolamp man, was envisaging in his account the type of Maki that he himself was at that moment about to perform, a type more like the Atchin than the Vao Maki, in which a stone-platform is erected for both parts. However this may be, the important point to note is that the story refers to the introduction of this type of monument, which is that which, to the native, typifies the Maki as opposed to all older forms of the graded society rite.

The founder is said to have been a man named To-wewe, who lived at the village of N'av-av on the mainland of Malekula.[3] The type of

[1] For a brief history of this, and of the dispute to which his action gave rise, see pp. 435 ff.

[2] A strange lapse by an otherwise reliable author (or possibly his editor) is the extraordinary statement attributed to Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 40) that Maltaru, who, in his genealogy (see p. 94), he assumes to have been born in about 1770, "knew neither the White Man, nor iron, *nor the Maki*" [my italics], and that his son Meltekleang (born about 1800) was the first to witness all three. This is, of course, manifestly untrue of the Maki as a whole, and the statement, if made to him at all, must have referred only to the introduction of some of the very latest new forms of the rite from Atchin.

[3] I have not been able to place this village on the map. It is said to have been close to the recently extinct village of Na-ting-ware, some three miles inland from Tsungon Ta-har, and some four miles distant from Vao.

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Maki he instituted was subsequently bought by Tolamp,[1] and from Tolamp transmitted by the usual method of ceremonial purchase to Vao. The story, which has many interesting features, runs as follows:

To-wewe was his father's eldest son and, like many culture-heroes here and elsewhere, had married his sister. This woman was a full sister, being born of the same father and mother as To-wewe, and her name was Lieli. The story relates how these two, having gathered a heap of nuts of the *tawò* tree, sat down together to break them open. Some of these fruits have one kernel, while others have two, divided by a thin skin. Whenever they found a nut with two kernels, they put it aside, till they had collected 100 of them. With these 100 twin-kernels the two intended to perform the Maki sacrifice. For this purpose they placed 100 half-kernels on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground and 100 on the Lower Side (corresponding to the 100 tusked boars now sacrificed on the Upper or men's Side and the 100 pigs of lesser value now sacrificed on the Lower or women's Side).[2] Having done this, they sang the following song, which is still sung on Vao on a number of important ritual occasions:

SONG 1

Sung by To-ueue

(For method of transcribing this and all subsequent songs see footnote.[3])

Slurred
ten
gor gor... la ra e, la ra e, vi a; gor gor... la ra e, la ra e vi
Slurred.
vi - no go na uru-ro vi - na; gor gor... la ra e, la ra e, vi
vi le ma vi le a, go sa... vin - do - e, gi no ge na uru-ra vi - ne.

Falsetto cries: "*O! oi! oi!*"—"*Wa!*" (Repeated twice.)

[1] It was not stated by my informant whether this happened while the island of Tolamp still existed, or whether it occurred after the submergence of the island, when its inhabitants had established themselves on the mainland.

[2] For other cases of the alleged sacrifice of objects other than tusked boars see pp. 452, 579.

[3] **Note on transcription of songs.** Transcription of native songs into European notation is no easy task and can at best be an approximation. I wish here to tender my warmest thanks to Sir Hugh Allen and Dr H. K. Andrews of New College.

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The words are, as those of most ritual songs, either in a special song language with archaic features or else in a foreign dialect, and are therefore obscure.[1] Their general sense, however, embodies the peaceful ideals of the Maki, and means, I was told, "The folk of some places are always fighting; I do not want to fight." The song is repeated twice over, each repetition being followed by loud cries from the dancers, the leader calling out "*O! oi! oi!*" in high falsetto, the last "*oi*" being slurred down the scale, and being replied to by a deep-sounding "*we*" from the others.

Having sung this song, To-wewe and his sister-wife were about to perform the "sacrifice" of the 200 half-kernels of *tawò*. But their father, whose name is unknown, and who was at the time sick in his house, heard them singing, and came out and stopped them, saying, "What are you doing?" And when he perceived what they were about to do, he said, "I see what you are doing. But wait a minute, don't sacrifice them (the *tawò* kernels) yet." Then he sounded the mother-gong,[2] and when all the men of the village had assembled, he said, "You see what these two are doing. They have placed 100 half-kernels at the Upper Side and 100

Oxford, who have kindly assisted me to achieve the nearest possible rendering of the various songs reproduced in this book, a list of which is found on p. xvi. As mentioned on p. 313, the main melody is frequently harmonised by the natives singing in more than one part. As most of my actual recording was, however, done from individual informants, it has not been possible to reproduce these parts except in a few outstanding instances; when, for example, the same native in repeating the same song would vary certain notes, or when two informants would each have their own variations. When plotted out together, however, all these variations were found to be in harmony with one another, and clearly represented what we should speak of as "parts," and are recorded as such in the transcriptions here given.

Since very few of these songs fit in with the regular time beats familiar in European music, no time signatures are attempted, and the very complicated rhythms are indicated as nearly as possible by means of (a) *slurs*, (b) *bars* not taken as time measures but as indicating the end of a phrase both in the music and in the words, (c) *apostrophes* indicating a definite break in the rhythm followed by a fresh "attack," and (d) *stresses* below the stave indicating accented notes. A special feature of these stresses is found in the following notation , consisting of two stressed quavers indicating a sustained note with a subsidiary beat corresponding to that of the dancers' feet. This only occurs in those songs which are accompanied by more or less violent dancing, and replaces the simple crotchet used when the dancers are stationary or in slow-moving procession. In later chapters the *sforzando* marks (stresses) below the tied quavers will be omitted, it being by then understood that the tying of two quavers on a single syllable itself implies some measure of accentuation on the second as well as on the first.

[1] *Wi-no* (*wi-na*, *wi-ne*) appears to be equivalent to the modern *wan*, meaning "go." *Go* is the future first person singular pronoun, meaning "I shall," or "Shall I?" *Na wu-ro* is equivalent to the Atchin *na wahal* (Vao *vaghal*), meaning "the fight." *Wi-te ma wi-te* means "It is not I," and *go sa win-do-e*, "What shall I do?" The word *gor-gor*, with which the song begins, could be connected with so many words in current Vao speech, such as *ghore*, "to chase" or "to remove a taboo," or *goro*, "to raid," that I hesitate to give any explanation. In view of the Wala version given below, it may possibly refer to the chasing of the aboriginal man-eating tyrant Ias, whose death coincided with the introduction of the stone-platform on Atchin.

[2] See p. 346.

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113 at the Lower Side, and want to sacrifice them." Then he brought a tusked boar and tied it to the stone-platform. And he told his son to sacrifice it, but told the woman that she must not sacrifice it. So To-wewe sacrificed the tusker at the stone-platform. This was the Ramben (first part) of the first Maki.

Now To-wewe was his father's *bete-ram*,[1] his eldest son. After this first sacrifice, nine more sons were born to him, so that now he had ten. And he wished to test all his sons, to see which of them was the "best." So he said to his wife, "I want you to play a trick on our sons. Go to the garden to dig out a yam, and as you bend down, let your mat-skirt (*nemb*) fall down to expose your private parts. Then whichever of the boys are 'good' he will go away so as not to see, but if any of them is 'bad,' he will come up to you and want to copulate. If any one of the boys does copulate with you, then break the yam and bring it to me, and I shall know that one of my sons has 'done wrong'[2] with you."

So the mother went, and the father sent his ten sons in turn to see her, beginning with the youngest. And the nine youngest, not wishing to see their mother with her parts exposed, came back. But To-wewe "did wrong" with her, and as he returned, his mother came with him carrying the broken yam, so that his father knew. And his father said, "These nine are my sons. But the eldest (*bete-ram*) has done wrong. Henceforth I will have no dealings with him."

The original sacrifice had been Ramben, the first part of the rite. Now he taught them the second part of the rite, called Maki Ru (High Maki). And the father played a trick on To-wewe,[3] sending him to his house, so that by the time he came back the other nine had already performed their sacrifice and the rite was over. To-wewe was furious, but his father soothed him, saying, "Never mind. Some time I will make a Maki for you all by yourself." But To-wewe was not to be pacified. He took with him the circle-tusker that he had intended to kill at the Maki, and put it into the hollow trunk of a tree of the kind called *nev*.[4] The trunk was hollow and open at the top. He climbed up, and, singing the same song that he and his sister-wife had sung while sorting out the *tawò* kernels, he lowered down the tusked boar, and then himself, into the trunk of the tree. And they remained in the trunk, and died there.

POINTS OF INTEREST IN THE TALE

This tale is of great interest. In the first place, it throws new light on the doubling of the rite, in that it shows a definite connexion between the introduction of the second part and a change in social organisation by which

[1] See pp. 180 ff.

[2] These are native expressions, and in no way due to the influence of Christianity.

[3] In the account as given to me To-wewe is henceforth referred to throughout as the *bete-ram* (eldest son).

[4] Atchin *ras*, often used for the manufacture of dug-out canoes.

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women became excluded, and by which incest (represented by copulation with the mother) in some form was abandoned; though it will be noted that there seems to have been no objection to To-wewe marrying his sister. 773

In the second place, there is the obvious connexion with mortuary rites, since the hero dies a voluntary death, presumably with the intention of being re-born.

Thirdly, there is the very remarkable mode of sepulture, in an upright hollow tree, recalling the tree-trunk burial of Attis and Osiris, while at the same time the tree chosen for this is that commonly used for making sea-going canoes, recalling many instances of burial in canoes throughout the islands.

Fourthly, there is the identification between the man and his tusked boar, which we have already seen to play such an important part in bringing about the identification between a man and the Guardian Ghost. It will be noted that the boar in question was a circle-tusker, which indicates that the event was comparatively recent.

Fifthly, the rite is definitely connected with ideas concerning the importance of the eldest son.

In the sixth place, it again emphasises the connexion between the newer form of the rite and the decimal system, the ten sons corresponding to the ten shrines erected in the later forms of Maki now practised on Atchin, together with the division of each village on that island into ten families each of whom is responsible for one shrine, and in the corresponding mythology concerning the ten grandsons of Le-saw-saw the Guardian Ghost.

OCCASIONS ON WHICH TO-WEWE'S SONG IS SUNG

(*a*) Vao

The song sung by To-wewe and his sister-wife, both when about to sacrifice the 100 twin-kernels and again when he enters on his voluntary death, is sung today on Vao on the occasion of the following *rites de passage*: 533 852

(*a*) During the mock battle that accompanies the celebration of the birth of an eldest son.[1] 764

(*b*) On the eve of the rites called *matean*, observed for the death of an old man prior to a dramatic scene in which the dead man is impersonated by a kinsman entering the hut built over his tomb and holds converse with the living, telling them that the dead man has returned to his mother's village.[2] 184

(*b*) Wala

The song is known also in other parts of the Small Islands. In Wala it is sung on the supreme occasion when a super-circle-tusker is consecrated for sacrifice at the Mak, clearly connecting this rite with To- 633 184

[1] See p. 183. [2] See p. 546.

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that do the work. If, on the other hand, there is no Maki in progress, then both "lines" own it and do the work.

Though the canoe belongs to the whole "line," or, if both "lines" combine, to the whole village, one man is spoken of as the "owner." It is he who performs the main sacrifices and directs operations, and it is with his personality that, after the consecration rite, the canoe itself becomes identified. This man, when the canoe is owned by one "line," is probably the leader of the Maki.

BELIEFS AND RITUAL CONNECTED WITH THE MANUFACTURE AND CONSECRATION OF SEA-GOING CANOES

First made by Ta-ghar on Oba.

Sea-going canoes are said to have been first made by Ta-ghar on Oba, whence the Small Islanders derived the art of making them. The following song refers to what is said to have been the first of such canoes. I did not record the tune. The words, as usual in songs, are archaic. The free rendering was given by a native.

Wolo ro angk-a,
Om sin togo le leure.
Osongani nu-wak e walau;
Agos bane savega?
Go wolo-wolo angk.
Anggambasi wolo nggere-nggeres; [1]
Vavine geru rom turu.
Wolo ro angk,
Om sin togo le leure.

"Run, run, canoe (before the wind),
Let it not hug the shore.
Keep it up towards the south;
At what place shall we land
The canoe is running.
He pretends to launch the canoe
Two women are waiting (at the landing-place)
Run, run, canoe,
Let it not hug the shore."

The sea-going nature of the canoe is here well emphasised, and reference to a southward course is interesting, though whether this is to the course from Oba or from still further north I cannot say. Some story lies behind the song, for which I have no key.

[1] Modern Atchin *kw-kavas, kavasi*, "to trick."

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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I witnessed on Atchin may have been an extreme case, but the principle applies throughout the Small Islands and must be borne in mind in the ensuing description of the rites.

TALE OF ORIGIN IN MAINLAND VILLAGE OF N'AV-AV (VERSION GENERALLY CURRENT IN SMALL ISLANDS)

It will be remembered that in the analysis given in the last chapter of the two main forms of initiation rite in Malekula the use of the word *ne-qau* for penis-wrapper on Vao appeared to indicate a certain connexion with the earlier form of the rite now practised chiefly in the South, and that in the Small Islands generally, at any rate in Atchin and Vao, the whole rite is said to have originated in a village on the Malekulan mainland bearing the same name N'av-av.[1] The story current on Atchin is as follows:

In the mainland village of N'av-av there were two brothers, of whom the elder was married but the younger not. One day, when the younger brother was in the bush cutting bamboos with which to make a fence, a sharp piece of bamboo sprang back and cut open his foreskin. The cut was so bad that he was unable to bring the two sides together, so that they remained gaping apart. But he managed to stanch the flow of blood, and forthwith applied to his wound all the curative medicines now in use after the operation of incision, and when it had healed he donned for the first time a penis-wrapper, though where this came from is not stated.

One day this youth met his elder brother's wife in the bush and had connexion with her. Never before had she found intercourse so pleasant, so much so that when she next slept with her husband his ministrations no longer pleased her as they used to, and all the time she was with him she could not keep her thoughts off his younger brother "on account of what she had felt." This feeling increased as time went on, till finally she told her husband that since she had known his younger brother his own intercourse had lacked savour. So the husband told one of his friends of this, and begged him to watch the youth and find out what it was that had made his body so pleasant. So the friend concealed himself in the bush and watched while the younger brother took off his wrapper to relieve himself. Then he returned to the husband and told him how his younger brother's foreskin was slit.

The elder then asked the younger how he had done this, and his brother replied by telling how the bamboo had cut him. As a result of this, and of the news of the younger brother's success with women, all the men of the village clamoured for the same thing to be done to them. So a day was appointed for incising all the men of the village, and they

[1] See p. 483.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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made a garden[1] and sacrificed pigs for their mothers' brothers and performed all the rites now associated with initiation.

Then, when all was over, the elder brother went back and resumed intercourse with his wife, after which she said, "Now I feel that your mode of intercourse is good like your brother's," and thenceforth stayed with him.[2]

To-wewe.

In the Vao version of this story it is said that To-wewe, founder of the existing Vao Maki, was the younger brother, and therefore also the introducer of the operation of incision. It is further said that in the days of the old type of pre-Maki rite centering round a single large dolmen practised before the advent of To-wewe,[3] there was no incision. This would appear to indicate a close connexion between incision and the Maki. My informant Pelur, however, explained that, whereas To-wewe had founded the existing Vao Maki of N'av-av while yet a child, it was only later, when he grew up, that he had the accident with the bamboo which gave rise to the operation of incision, the introduction of which thus appears to have been later than that of the Maki.

"First Men" of Initiation

In spite of this local story of origin, however, so many new rites have been purchased from Atchin that the inhabitants of that island are now looked on as the originators of the whole rite, and are called *bot na-mbagho*, "founders (or, as it is expressed in pidgin-English, "first men") of initiation," and it is for this reason that, in whatever Vao village the rite of initiation is performed, the speech announcing the date of the operation must be made by a leading member either of Singon or of Lavame, the two villages which first bought the rite from Atchin.

It is an interesting sidelight on stories of origin and the general question of the diffusion of culture that, though from the point of view of the natives of Vao the "first men" of initiation are the inhabitants of Atchin, for these latter the "first men" are those of Wala, and for the natives of Wala this position was formerly held by the men of the double mainland village of Lawor and Bot-walim, from whom they themselves derived the rite. Thus, each latest village to acquire the rite refers to the last link in the chain before it as the first, though in fact they know that

[1] Initiation proceedings on Atchin open with the planting of a special yam-garden.

[2] It is in complete accordance with native thought, based on a conception of moieties of which one is superior and conservative and the other inferior but progressive, that the younger of two brothers should be the first to introduce any new idea or adopt any new custom.

[3] See p. 283.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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CHAPTER XX

THE PILGRIMAGE TO OBA

(INITIATION INTO SEX)

AS has already been pointed out,[1] Initiation into Sex follows after Initiation into Manhood, and is a separate rite re-introduced into the Small Islands in comparatively recent times and carried out, not on the Small Islands themselves, but on one of the matrilineal islands of Oba, Maewo or North Raga in the Northern New Hebrides, of which the chief is Oba.

These islands are collectively regarded as the "Land of Ta-ghar." It is as such the natives regard them when making this journey, and for this reason that I propose to call this rite the Pilgrimage to Oba.[2]

This island lies some sixty miles away over the open sea, and is the chief among those visited by the sea-going canoes of the Small Islands in the trade for pigs. At the outset of all such voyages outside the waters immediately surrounding the Small Islands a special communion rite is held, prayers being offered to the ancestors for its success.[3] Moreover, however hard-headed the bargains in pigs made on these distant islands, the journey to Oba is fraught with mystery, and led by a ghostly shark with which travellers in canoes from Atchin make contact off the island of Wala whence the first such expedition was made. The tale told on Atchin is that a Wala man named Ni-mbel turned himself into a shark and, swimming under water, snatched a fine mat-skirt that had been put out on the beach to dry and, bringing it back, gave it to his wife, whereon all the girls on the Small Islands wanted similar ones. After this each youth wanted a like gift for his girl, and so the rite started, the shark Ni-mbel to this day still leading the canoe and the newly initiated youths returning with fine Oba mats.[4]

The rite is a 10-day one with a re-birth ceremony on the 5th day,[5]

[1] See pp. 473-475.

[2] According to Suas, 1912, p. 61, the inhabitants of the Lolopwepwe district of Oba actually call their own land *vanua i Takaro*, "land of Takaro (Ta-ghar)," or *vanua kokona*, "holy land."

[3] Examples of such prayers will be given in a future volume.

[4] This story, as told on Atchin, will appear in full in a future volume. For another version see Harrisson, 2, p. 106, who states that the supposed occurrence took place some eighteen generations ago.

[5] Speiser, 3, p. 288, states that the whole rite lasts only five days (see also p. 525).

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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(3) Weather Magic

The only other case of magical procedure actually recorded on Vao was a brief description of weather magic, including firstly a short account dealing with the origin of magic for making wind, and secondly some of the songs together with a short account of the ritual used for making rain.

(a) The Origin of Wind and Rain Magic on Vao

We have already seen the strength of the belief in weather magic in the tales regarding the submergence of Tolamp.[1] A man may either, as in this case, make weather magic on his own account, or else may do it for others on payment of a heavy fee. It is a dangerous operation, however, for if by mistake the weather he produces becomes too turbulent he may be held responsible for the damage.[2] The first Vao man said to have learnt the magic for making wind was one named Bu-wush, who is said also to have been the first to have made rain, so that it would appear that wind and rain magic form part of the same system.

The tale told regarding the origin of wind magic tells how this man Bu-wush belonged to the Vao village of Peter-ihi, and was married to a woman of Lavame. Lavame, it will be remembered,[3] is the name of a former Vao village whose inhabitants, after a war with another village called Handillagh, left Vao and took up their abode on the mainland. At the time to which this tale relates, however, they were still on Vao.

Now Bu-wush and the Lavame woman had a daughter named Le-taghar. It is not stated to whom she was married, though, according to a statement made later in the tale that she used the beach called Kowu, it would appear that he belonged to the Superior Side of Vao. The story runs that one day Le-taghar went to the mainland village of Buaror, near which she found some mushrooms (*na-mbor*) growing on the ground, and, picking them, came home with them, meaning to cook them in a pudding for her husband. But he was afraid, and refused. So she took them to her woman's fire and cooked them in a pudding for herself, and ate them.

That night she dreamt, and in her dreams a number of ghosts (*ta-mat*) came to her and told her how to make rain and winds, singing the songs appropriate to each kind of weather magic. So henceforth, whenever

[1] See pp. 575 ff.

[2] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 246) gives a case in point that occurred on February 8th, 1928, when a certain magician named Sum-ta-mat, having engaged to make wind for a whaler (such as the natives (see p. 456) now use instead of the old sea-going canoes) which was about to set out on a long voyage, "made too much, so that what should have been a moderate breeze turned first into a squall and then a cyclone. The cyclone drove the whaler on to a reef where she was smashed to bits. The owners held the magician responsible for the loss and forced him to refund the value of the boat by paying them ten pigs each worth £20."

[3] See pp. 59, 80.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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she wanted to go to Buaror, she made the north-east wind called *rualo*,[1] and, holding a coconut leaf up in her canoe (she did not even need to bother to put up a sail), was blown over to Leuru, which is the beach for Buaror. And when she wanted to come back, she made the south-west wind called *gharu*, and was blown back to the beach Kowu on Vao. And all the people saw that she always had the wind she wanted. And they suspected that she made the winds herself, and they asked her, and she said, "Yes." But she would not teach the magic to her husband, for she said, "I offered him the mushrooms, but he would not eat them. Therefore I will not teach the songs to him, but I will teach them to my own people." So she taught the secret to her father, Bu-wush, of Peter-ihi, and after that he was able to make the winds and rain.

One of the most striking features of this tale of origin lies in the fact that the individual who first discovered weather magic was a woman. Weather magic is now, so far as I know, entirely in the hands of men, nor is there any indication that it was ever practised by women. The fact that the transmitter was a woman would seem, therefore, to indicate some connexion between the origin of this form of magic and matrilineal descent, and this supposition is supported by her name Le-taghar, connecting her very definitely with the dual organisation creator-deity Ta-ghar. It is, moreover, of interest to find that according to Codrington (3, p. 199) the healing of the sick belongs in Oba to the *tangaloe ngovo*, "to those, that is to say, who have the knowledge of the songs and charms, believed to have come down from Tagaro himself, by which *mana* is conveyed and applied."[2] The significance of this will be seen later when we come to examine the cultural basis of magic.[3]

(*b*) BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MAGIC FOR MAKING RAIN

I have no record of the rites connected with the making of wind, but I have recorded briefly two of the four elements[4] that go towards the making of rain, namely the concrete medium containing the "power" together with the actions performed over it, and the songs sung to encourage rain from several specified quarters. My informant was an old man named Wu-wushi,[5] of Peter-ihi, a rain-maker who had inherited the art in direct succession from the Bu-wush mentioned above as being the first weather magician on Vao.

[1] All winds have names, according to the direction in which they blow. A full list in the Atchin language will be given in a future volume.

[2] But note that, according to Godefroy, Ta-ghar has no power to cause the rain to fall (see p. 217).

[3] See p. 640.

[4] See p. 641.

[5] It is interesting to note the similarity of this name with that of Bu-wush, the first practitioner. It is just possible, therefore, that the name may be a kind of magical title. One of Wu-wushi's other names was Sum-res. Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 238) records the names of two others, Sum-ta-mat and Melte-lil-nale [my hyphens].

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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Note on "The Path."

These are roughly the stages in the technological degradation of the key design called "The Path" (Fig. 61) which, in the belief current in the Seniang district of South-West Malekula, the Guardian Ghost draws in the sand and which the dead man must complete and walk through in order to reach the land of the dead. The peculiar form of this figure is due to the fact that, while the knowledge of the precise function of the continuous line as representing the path through the labyrinth has been lost, the natives still know that the whole design in some way represents a path. Having, therefore, transferred the element of baffle-ment properly associated with the labyrinth to the dead man's alleged confusion and loss of direction before reaching it, the continuous line no longer fulfils any religious function, but instead the whole design has been so constructed as to leave a comparatively empty central space through which, in this now mythologically almost meaningless figure, the ghost of the dead man is said to pass.

Barkulkul, creator-deity in South Raga, bolts his wife's door by means of creeper in the form of a design resembling a spider's web.

An interesting way in which the labyrinth story has been adapted elsewhere in the New Hebrides is seen in the mythological account from South Raga cited on p. 222, in which it is related how one day the creator-deity, there called Barkulkul, when leaving his house, left his wife in it and "shut the door by making, with a liana, a design similar to a spider's web." When he came back, finding the design disturbed, he went to the men's house, where he said to the men, "Let us make drawings." They made drawings in the ashes, similar to spiders' webs, and when Barkulkul saw that his brother Marrelūl made the same design as he himself had made, he knew that it was he who had entered his house in his absence and seduced his wife. And so he killed him.

The interest in this story lies firstly in the use of a creeper, recalling Fig. 68, named after such a creeper and itself not unlike a spider's web. In the second place, it is important to note the position of the design made with the creeper on the very door of the house so that an intruder would have to break through it, in the same way as the ghost of the dead man in Seniang must pass through the design called "The Path" in order to penetrate into the cave. In the third place, it will be noted that the motive is a sexual one indicating something in the nature of a sacred marriage resembling that of Theseus and Ariadne, seen also in the labyrinth dances performed at the marriage of a chief's daughter among the Big Nambas of the North Malekulan plateau.[1] In this case

[1] Harrisson, 2, p. 413; Layard, 6, p. 168.

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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chief's daughter has been given up for years, Atchin contradicts his theory in fact. Baker I think underestimates the vanity of the native.

The Atchinese are among the very few peoples friendly to the administration, and they now appeal at once for peaceful settlements to all disputes. In the old days they gave a lot of trouble, but living on a small island they found a warship was more significant to them than to the bushmen. War is no more, abortion uncommon; the older men consciously want the place to grow; and grow it does. Thus it was the Atchinese who drew my attention to the exorbitantly high pig payments demanded as bride price all over the area in recent years; with their support I was able to lôwer the price by 80 per cent., back to pre-white level, thus enabling young men to marry with only normal difficulty. Similarly these folk like European medicines for introduced diseases, but use their own for the endemic ones. Their pig transactions and graded-society (*Maki*) rites have been modified; some things have been taken away, others added, both from white and black sources. Atchin dances are second only to those of Matanavat; they are kept up with exactitude and enthusiasm; also with new and often spontaneous variations in one type of the *na-leng*, the highest manifestation of Hebridean art and living. Sorcery and poison are no longer tolerated; the Atchinese are bitter against the adjacent island Vao for continuing these practices—bitter, but not disbelieving. Magic is not now important; old legends and stories, in which these people excel, are a part of daily life and juvenile instruction; the same myths collected by Layard and myself in 1914 and 1935 respectively agree perfectly, there has been no deterioration. The old burial rites and beliefs survive unimpaired.

In general the old customs that are savage or anti-social under modern conditions have disappeared, while those with business, religious, health, or play value have survived, even expanded. It is in this Europeanized heathenism, this intelligently primitive and adaptive but obstinate outlook, that the ancient Melanesian culture is most likely and able to survive. On Atchin to-day every village has its great drums, in lovely dancing glades, dolmens, carved human and bird effigies; a little distance away behind a native-style stone wall is a cluster of palm houses kept clean; at one corner perhaps a cement and iron house, the men's lodge, pride of the place. The women have more status, charm, freedom, and gaiety than elsewhere in the area.

I found the Atchinese charming people—and charm is a word I seldom think of applying to a Melanesian. They are thoroughly independent and sophisticated, combining Melanesian business ability with a more Polynesian intelligence and grace to direct it. The planters and missionaries have no good word to say for Atchin, which is an indication. Few tribes have had the good luck and intelligence to use the white man's things for their own advantage, in harmony with their own culture. I believe that what the Hebridean needs most to-day is guidance in this direction associated with simple medical aid. New education, religion and outlet are unnecessary and inadvisable now, and perhaps for some time to come. A few sympathetic men and women, without undue prejudice, could with a little money and many medicines work wonders. Atchin might well serve as a model in cultural adaptation. It